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ABSTRACT

The 3 major papers of a symposium are included. Primary emphases are on: (1) problems of conceptualizing and measuring coping behavior in 8 cultures; (2) the effect of socio-cultural premises on coping behavior; and (3) the influence of social class on coping behavior. The first report discusses the steps involved in empirically determining whether a desirable, cross-cultural problem-solving behavior exists and focuses on the conceptual formulation and some reliability and validity findings from a first-stage study. The second paper traces the refinement of coping theory from an early formulation, which grossly dichotomized coping behavior into active and passive, through the most recent formulation in which 20 factorially distinct dimensions are discriminated. The final paper points up the problems involved in comparing coping styles across social class. Findings are reported which show that social class differences are similar in the various countries under study. (TL)

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AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO CONCEPTUALIZE AND MEASURE COPING BEHAVIOR

Chairman: M. Brewster Smith
University of California at Santa Cruz

Participants: Robert F. Peck, The University of Texas at Austin
"Developing Internationally Acceptable Concepts and Measures of Effective Coping Behavior"

Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero, The National University of Mexico
"Socio-Cultural Premises Related to Coping Behavior"

Robert J. Havighurst, University of Chicago
"Social Class Factors in Coping Style and Competence"

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AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO CONCEPTUALIZE AND MEASURE COPING BEHAVIOR

The symposium considers

(a) problems of conceptualizing and measuring coping behavior in eight cultures,

(b) the effect of socio-cultural premises on coping behavior, and

(c) the influence of social class on coping behavior.

Stratified samples of 800 urban school children were drawn in Brazil, England, Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the U.S.A. (Austin, Texas and the Chicago area) and Yugoslavia. Boys and girls, 10 and 14, upper-lower and upper-middle class were studied, 100 in each of the eight sub-groups (total number 6,400).

Several instruments were specially designed to permit the quantitative measurement of coping style and coping effectiveness, comparably in the eight countries. Among the several statistical analyses was a four-way, inter-country ANOVA, measuring age, sex, class, nationality and interaction effects. Several kinds of correlational analyses were also performed, and compared across countries.

Symposium members will report separately on the evolution of the uniform system for conceptualizing coping behavior, findings from the data, and implications for the conceptualization of positive mental health.

The reports will take 60 minutes, with 50 minutes for audience discussion.

Developing Internationally Acceptable Concepts and Measures of Effective Coping Behavior

Beginning in 1964, an international consortium of scientists in eight nations explored the possibility of defining and measuring coping behavior. Full allowance was made for culturally idiosyncratic standards. Nevertheless, it proved possible to identify a series of sequential steps in coping behavior on which there is very high international agreement. Similar agreement was reached in selecting certain attitudinal components of coping. These concepts were operationally measured by a story completion and a sentence completion instrument, both scored objectively and reliably by a single system, common to all the languages and cultures involved. Two self-report questionnaires were also constructed and cross-validated with the projective measures and with independent criterion measures.

This report focuses on the conceptual formulation of coping behavior which the study generated, and some of the reliability and validity findings from the first-stage study of 6,400 children.

Socio-Cultural Premises Related to Coping Behavior

The study assumed that different cultures may have different ways of selecting and weighing those behavioral characteristics which they consider "good coping." One such difference, postulated in 1963, saw some cultures preferring an "active" style while certain other cultures were thought to prefer a "passive" style of dealing with major issues in life. Continuing discussions in the consortium and the analysis of successive sets of data on child behavior led to the differentiation of this idea into a number of separate kinds of behavior.

During 1968-1971, an instrument was developed embodying these several aspects of behavior. Known as the "Views of Life," it was composed of forced-choice item-pairs which hypothetically represented twenty-two independent dimensions of behavior-preferences. This questionnaire was administered in parallel, native-language forms to 200 fourteen-year-olds in each of eight countries. Correlation, intra-country factor analysis and factor matching across countries demonstrated that the instrument did measure twenty factorially distinct dimensions of behavior.

The nature of these dimensions will be discussed, as will the patterns of behavior preferred by children of different sex, age, socio-economic level and nationality. The clarification and refinement of coping theory will be traced, from the early formulation of the active-passive syndrome to the most recent formulation, based on analysis of the empirical data collected in the eight countries.

Social Class Factors in Coping Style and Competence

The cross-national research project has proceeded on the hypothesis that each sub-cultural group has its own favored and normative style of coping with various problem situations. The project has aimed to learn what these styles are.

The description and quantitative measurement of the styles requires close attention to problems of comparative study. The most difficult problems are met in making cross-national comparisons, because the language factor is added to other sub-cultural differences. But the problem of achieving comparability across social class lines is also difficult, though somewhat masked by the fact that language differences between classes are not so obvious as are those between countries.

In this project the social-class differences between upper-middle class and upper-working class children have been compared with differences between sexes, between age groups (10 and 14 years) and between countries. These differences have been analyzed to find out whether there is evidence for the proposition that social class differences are similar in their socializing effects in different metropolitan areas in the modern world.

In general, it has been found that the social class differences are similar in the various countries under study, and that they are greater than sex differences in most of the variables that have been studied, such as school achievement, occupational values and aspirations, styles of coping with problem situations, and a variety of social attitudes.

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DEVELOPING INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE CONCEPTS AND MEASURES OF EFFECTIVE COPING BEHAVIOR

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This paper was presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Psychological Association, held September 3-7, 1971, in Washington, D. C.

This study was supported in part by U. S. Office of Education Contract No. OE-5-85-063, Coping Styles and Achievement: A Cross-National Study of School Children. The opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Office of Education and no official endorsement by the Office of Education should be inferred.

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Beginning in 1964, a consortium of scientists in eight nations has explored the possibility of developing an international consensus in defining and measuring coping behavior. To put it another way, this team has been testing whether it is possible to arrive at an operational definition of mental health which is cross-culturally acceptable and usable. A cyclic conference-research process has generated theoretical constructs and has designed operational measures. As a next step, uniform sampling and data collection have been carried out in all countries. After centralized analysis of the data at Austin, the results have been described and interpreted by each national team and then by a committee-of-the-whole. Both the concepts and the measuring instruments have been redesigned and retested through three cycles, using successive samples of children numbering 1700, 6400 and 3600.

From the outset, all members have participated as equal partners in the enterprise. Principal investigators are Arrigo Angelini, University of Sao Paulo, Brazil; Kenneth Miller, Independent Assessment and Research Centre, Ltd., London; from Germany, Walter Jaide of Hannover, Rolf Piquardt of Koblenz and Franz Weinert of Heidelberg; Marcello Cesa-Bianchi, University of Milan; Shunichi Kubo, National Institute for Education Research, Tokyo, Japan; Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero, National University of Mexico; Robert Havighurst, University of Chicago; Ivan Tolicic and Leon Zorman, University of Ljubljana, Yugoslavia; and Robert Peck, The University of Texas at Austin, the director of the study.

The Vocational Research Branch of the U. S. Office of Education sponsored the initial conference in 1964, and has supported the subsequent research since 1965 with a grant for the "Cross-National Study of Coping Styles and Achievement." This series of studies has had two aspects. First, both the structured and the unstructured instruments have been used to test a large number of hypotheses which were identified in advance, concerning relationships of aptitude, motivation and behavior style to independent criterion measures of coping behavior in five areas: task achievement, interpersonal relations, relationships with authority, the handling of anxiety and the handling of aggression. In the other aspect of the research, there has been an inductive exploration of samples of child behavior, using free-response instruments to help generate new constructs. The ultimate aim has been to develop and test a more complete, logically articulated conceptual system for describing and explaining coping behavior in several different societies and, possibly, in any human society. This undertaking was planned as an international study in order to be able to answer the question: how universal or how culture-bound are the patterns of thought and action which constitute effective coping in different societies? Empirical evidence has been sought to determine whether there are some kinds of problem-solving behavior which may be desirable in all human settings. If such patterns were to be found, they would constitute a universally valid definition of "effective coping behavior," or "good mental health."

Only such a universally-found pattern could justify the assumption that there are certain inherent needs in "human nature" which such coping actions effectively satisfy, over and above the effects of cultural conditioning or the culture-limited definition of desirable behavior. Even eight countries, of course, scarcely constitute a cross-section of the entire human race, so

this effort toward a "universal" theory of coping must be viewed as only a step in that direction.

Starting with a three-factor conceptualization of coping, in highly generalized terms, in 1964, the group conducted a year of pilot testing of children in Brazil, England, Germany, Italy, Mexico and the United States. At conferences held in Austin, Miami and Germany, the system was differentiated into six constructs: (1) coping versus non-coping; (2) active versus passive; (3) direct versus indirect (or self versus other-initiation of the problem-solving attempt); (4) positive versus negative affect; (5) instrumental versus expressive action; and (6) positive versus negative outcome. Children's responses to a standard set of problems, in a Story Completion instrument, were rated on these six dimensions. As might be expected, such generally phrased dimensions allowed a great deal of room for variation and interpretation, even among the researchers in one country. Moreover, what was an acceptable resolution of a problem in one country was sometimes evaluated differently in other countries. It is of considerable interest, nonetheless, to observe that on two scales there was very good agreement among all judges, in all countries. These were the two most broadly evaluative scales: coping-non-coping, and evaluation of outcome. The former scale had a mean inter-judge reliability of .79, with a range of .65 to .89. The latter scale had a mean reliability of .85, with a range from .76 to .91. Thus, although these two constructs were stated in extremely generalized, non-descriptive form, the high degree of agreement indicated a surprisingly strong consensus as to what constitutes effective coping behavior in any of these societies.

The next step was to work out a detailed, descriptive system for identifying the specific response patterns which the judges were using to arrive at

this general consensus. Such a system was evolved during 1965-1966. The process of describing and evaluating coping behavior was thus broken into two successive stages: First, a highly specific, descriptive coding of detailed steps in problem solving behavior; second, the derivation of evaluative ratings from the coding manual, rather than from the raw response data. An analogous, two-step process was similarly used to describe and evaluate attitudes and emotional reactions which were identified as important aspects of the coping reaction. Quite apart from the practical saving of time in calculating evaluative scores for large numbers of children, and the insuring of reliabilities above .90, this system had a considerable theoretical advantage: it specified exactly what kinds of observable behavior were used to define each point on the coping effectiveness scale, by any one judge, and by judges from different countries.

The Story Completion instrument developed in 1964 had gone through several revisions by 1966. Inductive analysis of the responses of some 6400 children led to the next formulation of the conceptual system for describing coping behavior. By seeing how many different children reacted to the problems posed in the stories, it became clear that there was a logical system of steps which described the way children moved from their first encounter with a problem to their final resolution or dismissal of it.

While this conceptual system was developed using a Story Completion instrument and a Sentence Completion instrument, it should be emphasized that this system can be applied to any kind of behavioral data which enable one to see how a person reacts to a problem.

By 1966, a battery of ten different measures of interest, aspiration, aptitude, achievement, attitude and coping style had been cooperatively

developed by the international team, translated into the appropriate languages, and checked and cross-checked for semantic equivalence. This battery was administered to several thousand children in each country in order to obtain a rigorously defined sample of 800 in each location, stratified by sex, age (10 and 14 years), and socioeconomic status (skilled working class and upper middle class). In subsequent years, the conceptualization of coping behavior and coping-relevant characteristics was further refined, and improved instrumentation was developed. A new cross-validation sample of 3600 children was tested in 1968-1969. A 10% sample of the parents of the children tested in 1966 were also interviewed about their own and their children's coping styles.

For present purposes, some findings will be presented from the first stage of the research, illustrating the degree of international agreement on the kinds of behavior which constitute effective and ineffective coping. Following this, a brief description will be given of some interesting differences in coping style which distinguish the children from the several different countries.

The Degree of Agreement, Across Nations, on the Definition of Effective Coping Behavior

To illustrate the procedure for classifying reactions to problem situations into descriptive categories, an item from the Sentence Completion can be used: "When my parents make me mad, I ..." Examination of the responses of the total sample, in every country, revealed that most of them could be described with the following set of categories:

01 Leaving the situation: "go away", "leave the room".

02 Exercising self-control: "try to control my feelings", "calm down".

03 Negative, depressive emotional reaction: "get my feelings hurt", "feel bad".

04 Negative, hostile feeling, with no action: "really get mad", "sulk and pout".

05 Inaction: "just sit there", "don't do anything".

06 Verbal aggression: "tell them off", "talk back to them".

07 Attempt to resolve the difficulty: "think about what I have done", "explain my side".

08 Rebellious action: "do something to make them mad", "revolt".

09 Submission: "I obey them anyway", "I forgive them".

10 Anxiety: "get nervous", "worry a lot".

11 Displaced aggressive behavior: "I hit my sister", "take it out on some other person".

After this descriptive system had been developed, the team at each research station was then given complete freedom to look at each specific category of behavior and to decide where to place it on a five-point scale, ranging from effective to ineffective coping. Each national team could have evolved a unique formula for defining those behaviors which constitute effective coping, to their minds. Indeed, in the early stages of this study, considerable cultural differences were anticipated in such a definition.

As things turned out, however, there was a very large degree of agreement, across countries, on the coping effectiveness value of the many kinds of behavior described in the coding dictionaries for the Sentence Completion and the Story Completion instruments. For example, Table I shows the degree of agreement among the eight national teams in evaluating the 125 ways in which children responded to 13 Sentence Completion items. With rare, small

exceptions, the judges from these seven stations either agreed unanimously, or within one scale point, in rating each kind of behavior on the five-point scale of coping effectiveness. The two teams from the U.S.A., the University of Chicago and The University of Texas, did show somewhat closer agreement with each other than with the other national teams in judging children's reactions to achievement (85% total agreement, 9% one-point disagreement versus 70%, 20% average agreement with all other stations). A similar pattern appeared in the area of aggression (89 total, 11 partial agreement versus 73, 24) and anxiety (75 total to 20 partial versus 60 total to 34 partial agreement). These two teams, however, agreed with other countries to almost the same degree as with each other, in judging interpersonal behavior and the reactions to authority.

Considering the room for possible disagreement, the high proportion of identical or close agreement across all countries suggests that it has proved possible to achieve an internationally acceptable definition of coping effectiveness, both in style of action and in affective characteristics. Some of the differences which do exist between certain countries are of considerable interest. The Brazilian team, for example, generated the most idiosyncratic definitions of coping, relative to the other countries. They differed most in weighing behavioral responses to anxiety; least, in evaluating the handling of aggression. The English team, on the other hand, agreed highly with all other countries, on the average, except in the area of anxiety. (It should be noted that coping with anxiety was least firmly and commonly defined, of all the areas of behavior).

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Reversing the trend of most other teams, the Mexican team agreed most strongly with the international network in defining in authority coping and interpersonal coping, while aggreeing less completely about coping with aggression. Austin and Yugoslavia most closely represented the international consensus, taking all areas of behavior together.

By going into the particular kinds of behavior on which a country differs from other countries, it is possible to describe quite specifically those ways in which its definition of effective or ineffective behavior is distinctive. To give the most extreme example in the present data, in scaling the alternative reactions to the anxiety stem, "When I get worried, I ...", Mexico gave a top rating of 5 to the category "I talk it over with someone else", while Yugoslavia rated this 4 (Still above the average of the coping scale). Mexico gave a middle value of 3 to such overt but non-goal directed reactions as "I bite my nails" or "I go eat a piece of sugar". Yugoslavia rated this kind of behavior somewhat below average, with a 2. Yugoslavia gave a bottom rating of 1 to behavior such as "I shake", "I get an upset stomach", whereas Mexico rated these 3. Somewhat conversely, Mexico gave a bottom rating to expressions of hostile affect or hostile actions, such as "I get mad" or "I pace around angrily", while Yugoslavia rated this kind of behavior 2, somewhat less undesirable. While these are not contradictory views and while these two national teams agreed completely in rating the other seven categories of behavior which this stem elicited, there does appear to be an interesting consistency in the pattern of these discrepancies.

As might have been forecast by one who knows the Mexican culture, it stresses the desirability of creating and maintaining good, close personal relationships as a major aspect of coping with life. The Mexican way is also to understand

and accept as natural both the experiencing and the expressing of emotion, including feelings of anxiety. One exception is that Mexicans tend not to approve the expression of angry feelings in ways that might threaten interpersonal harmony. The reality of such a national value system would seem to be supported by the pattern of ratings in this present instance.

To overemphasize such distinctions would be to caricature what are only moderate differences of degree among the different countries. At the same time, such analysis illustrates the level of concrete description that is most helpful in communicating a clear, accurate picture of a group's value system, whether it be a national group or an ethnic, or socioeconomic or sex group within a country. This is one of the major advantages of using a descriptive coding system en route to a scaling system for evaluating behavior.

Again, it is worth emphasizing that the Sentence Completion and Story Completion instruments which were employed to arrive at these definitions of coping behavior were simply a means to this end. The judges, in evaluating the different categories of behavior, treated them as genuine instances of such behavior and rated them as if the children were observably acting that way in a real-life setting. The judges were keenly aware that statements on projective instruments do not necessarily correspond to the actual, overt behavior the individual displays. Discrepancies between behavior and projective statements reduce the actuarial validity of the scoring system as applied to projective statements. Such discrepancies are therefore a problem in measurement. This fact has no bearing and no influence, however, on the definition of what constitutes effective coping. By treating responses to the projective instruments as if they were actual samples of observed behavior, the judges spelled out exactly what kinds of real behavior they would classify as effective or ineffective coping.

National Coping Patterns

Because each country developed a slightly idiosyncratic formula for calculating its coping effectiveness ratings on the Sentence Completion, a quantitative cross-national comparison of these scores would not be interpretable. On the Story Completion, however, all countries except England agreed on a common formula; and, since the English deviations were quite small, it was possible to apply this scaling system to the English data, as well. Each story posed a distinct, different problem for the children even though, theoretically, three behavioral areas were represented by two stories, each: Task achievement (Stories 1 and 6), relations with authority (2 and 10), and interpersonal relations (4 and 7).

Table II shows the stories, by area of behavior, on which each national sample was significantly high or low (by Tukey's Honest Significant Difference) when a cross-national ANOVA was performed on the coping effectiveness scores for each story. Viewed this way, no two countries are alike. Keeping in mind that these are children's self-portrayals, by projection, in a situation where socially desirable responses may be fairly obvious, the results show quite different national profiles of effective coping, across the five areas of behavior. (It must be emphasized that the plus and minus signs stand for relative rank among the seven samples, not the absolute level of coping effectiveness, as judged by the theoretical scale.)

The Brazilian children came out at the top in their portrayal of themselves as successful achievers. At the same time, they scored significantly lower than the average of the other groups, in all other aspects of behavior.

The English children portrayed themselves as highly effective in dealing with one of the two achievement problems, and in dealing with anxiety. They

ranked very low in dealing effectively with authority and in handling aggression. They handled one interpersonal problem very well, but they ranked low in dealing with the other one.

The Italian children stood above average in all areas except achievement, where they got one low ranking.

The Japanese scored high in dealing with authority, anxiety and aggression. Contrary to their demonstrated superiority in actual school achievement, they did not project an effective coping style in dealing with the achievement problems, here. (Perhaps they are fed up with conforming to the intense pressures for academic achievement which continually bombard them from all sides?)

The Mexican children, except for a low score on one authority problem, portray themselves in a middle-of-the-road light in all areas of behavior.

The children from the Chicago metropolitan area also scored in the middle range on three scores, but made high scores for interpersonal coping, and one of the two authority problems.

The children of Austin, Texas scored below average in three areas, and average in the other two. Austin is a far smaller, less economically expansive community than the other cities sampled (all very large, fast-growing metropolitan areas). Perhaps this reflects a natural self-selection in the kinds of people who choose to live there, thereby producing a population of children who are less aggressively enterprising and confident, in most aspects of life, than their big-city counterparts in the other samples.

To sum up these partial findings, eight years of cooperative study by behavioral scientists from eight countries has generated an objective, reliable system for evaluating peoples' reactions to problems. At least in the case

of certain universally-encountered problems, this conceptual system can be used in each country to judge the level of coping effectiveness a person shows. It could be applied to naturalistic observations, to behavior observed in experimental situations, or to other appropriate samples of behavior, or behavioral-reports.

When applied to samples of children in these several countries, the children in each national sample showed a significantly distinct profile of varying effectiveness in dealing with different aspects of life.

Enough progress appears to have been made, to encourage further development of behavior-descriptive manuals and of evaluative scaling manuals based on them, which might be useful in many practical ways for diagnosis and treatment in education and in mental health work.

TABLE I

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON A BEHAVIORAL DEFINITION OF COPING EFFECTIVENESS:

SENTENCE COMPLETION SCALES

Average % of Agreement	Aggression			Interpersonal			Authority			Anxiety			Task Achievement		
on Five Point Scale	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2
Brazil	69	26	5	61	35	3.5	62	36	2	48	50	2	62	33	5
England	78	12	0	79	20	1	82	18	.3	58	38	4	72	25	3
Italy	79	21	0	74	25	0.6	75	24	1	66	33	1	69	29	2
Japan	73	21	6	66	34	0.6	66	33	1	57	40	3	55	42	3
Mexico	59	38	3	78	19	3	82	17	1	60	32	8	79	19	2
Chicago	75	22	3	71	26	3	75	21	4	62	36	2	72	22	6
Austin	79	20	1	79	20	0.6	83	16	1	70	29	1	79	18	3
Yugoslavia	75	25	0	78	21	1	79	20	1	67	33	0	70	29	1

TABLE II

Distinctive National Coping

Patterns on the Story Completion

COPING EFFECTIVENESS RATINGS

		Brazil	England	Italy	Japan	Mexico	Chicago	Austin
T. Ach.	1	+	+		-			-
	6	+		-				
Authority	2	-	-	+	+	-	+	
	10	-	-	+				
Interpersonal	4	-	+		-		+	
	7	-	-	+	+		+	-
Anxiety	5	-	+		+			-
Aggression	8	-	-	+	+			

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SOCIO CULTURAL PREMISES RELATED TO COPING BEHAVIOR

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SOCIO CULTURAL PREMISES RELATED TO COPING BEHAVIOR

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INTRODUCTION.

This is not a formal paper. Its many issues are beyond any single formal paper. Ever since cultural anthropology has been courting psychology, there has been a struggle, in order to find out, the method and variables, capable of producing a formally sanctified and a catholic union. The history is long. You have heard the names of its heroes: Malinowsky, Kardiner, Linton, Mead, Benedict, etc.

All the ado is about, a certain undefined lady, under the name of culture. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (5), in a scholarly book, reviewed 164 definitions and 100 complex concepts of culture. According to them, the central idea in the concept, and definition of culture, is as follows: "Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior, acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and specially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action,

on the other as conditioning elements of further action". (Page 357) This is as comprehensive a concept of culture as you can find.

Samuel Ramos (8) in 1938, and later the Kluckhohns, Clyde and Florence, Parssons and Shills, and their helpers - even if they overdid the theoretical abstractions - are all, the theoretical antecedents, of the approach to culture, to be exemplified in this paper. Philosophically, the approach is consonant with Gardner Murphy's insistence on the importance of social and cultural factors on personality, and with Gordon Allport's schemata of value, particularly the intentionality of value. I further consider, as twin souls, in regards to the approach to the problems of culture and psychology, everyone that has tried to operationalize value-concepts, relevant to the effects of culture upon personality, among them Strodtbeck and Kluckhohn, Brewster Smith, Rokeach, McClelland, Triandis, June Tapp, etc. The concept of coping in Lois Murphy and its utilization by Coehlo, et al, are very close to the present approach.

For a traditional society, culture is an exceedingly important and a powerful concept. Mexico, in spite of the economic and political changes brought about by the first revolution of this century, is still a traditional society.

As a modern psychologist - I hope I am one - I could

not remain for long, blind to the omnipresent cultural determinants of the behavior of my people. Inference from the behavior, permitted to develop, the concept first, and then the construct, of the sociocultural premise. The sociocultural premise, the S.C.P. has been extensively discussed elsewhere (2). Suffice it to say, that using this concept, work has been done all the way to the development of factorial scales in two areas of "culture". The S.C.Ps. of the Mexican family (3), and the subject matter of today's talk. The S.C.Ps. related to coping behavior. In this area, it has been a great opportunity, and a privilege, to have worked in the cross national study, subject of this symposium. I certainly like to thank publicly the social scientists of the seven participating nations, and, particularly, the members of the research team at the University of Texas, for their help in the development, application and refinement of an instrument, made up of S.C.Ps. related to coping behavior, and entitled, "The Views of Life".

THE THEORETICAL BASIS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEST.

In 1963, I proposed an active-passive dichotomy, which referred to a complex dimension, which it was felt, would differentiate Mexicans from Americans cross culturally. It was stated, that people in some cultures preferred to deal with the stresses of life by doing something about them. But

this doing something about them, was perceived, as doing whatever had to be done in the physical or social environment. On the other hand, other people, from other cultures, preferred to deal with the stresses of life by modifying themselves, by adjusting themselves to the physical and/or social environments. These two ways of dealing with the stress of life, were historic-cultural preferences, and covered multitude of specific behaviors. As research, and further thinking, started to clarify the nature of these complex dimensions, it was decided, to speak of the active and the passive syndromes. We are certain, that the 56 subsyndromes that we spoke about in 1967, are still not exhaustive, of the intricate patterning, the cultural ideology, or if you wish, the cognitive net, of the coping philosophy of a culture. It has been postulated - and in one occasion proven to an extent (1) - that the subsyndromes within the active and the passive syndromes, hang together, are recognizable as coherent parts of a philosophy of life of a given culture.

It was on the basis of this complex set of forethoughts that the first trials at the development of the Views of Life instrument, were carried out. I am not going to burden you now with the pool of items, the first forms, the several reliability and factor analytical studies. These will be described elsewhere (4).

In the last years, the Views of Life became more

and more an instrument, in whose development, many members of the cross national team participated. Some subsyndromes were added, in order to better fulfill the specific goals of the cross national research. In the selection procedure for the items of the final test, a trial was made, to combine the following criteria:

1. Item test-retest reliability.
2. Consistency of item loading within each subsyndrome.
3. Significant cross cultural differentiation by the item.
4. Significant within culture differentiation by the item.
5. The appropriateness of the subsyndromes to the dimensions being measured in the other instruments of the test battery and to the overall coping theory.

In the end, however, a major portion of the theoretical structure of the active vs. the passive, remained in the instrument. The next step in this paper would necessarily consist of an explanation, item by item and subsyndrome by subsyndrome of the Views of Life. It would take forever. Instead, I am going to try something different. I have developed a character sketch of the passive man. I think that a person, that sincerely marked the passive alternative of every item of the Views of Life, would behave pretty much the way our man does in the following character sketch.

THE PASSIVE MAN

A passive man is one, that will try his best to economize effort at work, and at any activity, either forced or innerly perceived as painful or stressful. A passive man will indulge his effort at play, affiliation, love, music, dancing, diversion and any kind of pleasant socialization. Passivity is also, a willingness at self modification, in the face of demands from either the physical, the natural, the interpersonal or the social environments. Passivity is, the development of refined ways, which will produce pleasant interpersonal interactions.

Quijosancho is a passive man. He always felt that he was controlled by his environment. The world, he used to say, will go on its own merry way, and there is very little I can do about it. Neither I, nor mankind, can ever control the destiny of the world. Most of his problems, and his difficulties, he is quite sure, are due to bad luck. He has some reason to feel this way. Ever since he was a child, he was able to see, in both his case and the case of his parents, that no matter how hard they would try, there were many things that could not be accomplished. He vividly remembers his childhood, he was extremely obedient tors his parents, who, in turn, loved him greatly for it. His father, and his mother, would take care of his needs. He only needed to smile and be obedient and affectionate in return. Because of the many good things that would happen to him, when he was obedient, he learned to enjoy modifying himself, in the face of family and school authorities. At school, it was so much easier to let someone else take the initiative in many tasks or games, or let one, of his many friends, solve a problem for him, that he did not have to apply himself strenuously. He, actually, enjoyed best, studying, and in general, accomplishing, in the companionship of his friends. They all did actually cooperate, to such an extent, that coping in exams was the rule, rather than the exception. Somehow, he never perceived himself as totally independent from all the others, his friends, his brothers, his family. He was actually part of them and they were part of him. As time passed on, he came to accept, that there were not really a great many things that he could do by himself or on his own. The friendliness, the protection, the cooperation of others appeared indispensable, in order that he would get some place. At school, he came to place the blame, or the merit, for whatever he did, outside of himself. Thus, when he passed the exams, it was because the tests were easy, and when he failed to understand a lesson, it was because the teacher did not explain sufficiently well.

Even, as a young man, Quijosancho preferred to take his time in doing things. He used to say: in the long run

a person who works slowly, not only gets more done, but it is usually better done. His old man often felt proud of his wisdom, because, when uncertain, he never leaped before a very careful and cautious look at the situations. Many people envied, the calm and relaxation, with which he faced, even the most difficult circumstances. "The whole thing is calmness", ("La cosa es calmada"), a saying he learned, from a prominent comic of his day, directed him to react slowly and take it easy through each problem he faced.

Later in his life, he developed a complex philosophy about work. He used to say: work is sacred, don't touch it. Work, he said, is something very demanding of one's energies, something that one should learn to endure. Furthermore, it is a duty that we must all perform. It has, of course, great rewards, when its products serve to support and make the family happy or to give a good education to the children or to invite all the friends to a big fiesta and spend a month's salary in one evening. After all, someday, and there is no hurry, one is bound to win a lottery. On this event, he rejoiced in saying, I will spend the rest of my life scratching my belly under the sun in Acapulco.

Quijosancho was happy, perhaps he didn't have any high or impossible aspirations - his goals were actually quite concrete and immediate - but he did appear to have a happy disposition. He was not ambitious, actually, he had no clear idea of individual power. He used to say: after all, you can not take anything with you to the grave. When he was in smart circles, he used to proclaim what he said, was a beautiful Chinese proverb: "Do not build a house on a bridge". His family, and his friends, were to him more important than his work. Quijosancho had heard his elders say, a thousand times, that one can be courageous and courteous at the same time. However, as he went on, in his own life, being courteous and polite, he found it harder and harder to express disagreement with others. He was always afraid he would hurt their feelings. He came also to feel, that it was much easier to go along with the opinion of the majority, in the family, or among friends, than to stick to your own opinion. There was some disillusion, when he found the need to increase the white lies, and later other kinds of lies, in order to keep with the same pattern of pleasant, delightful interpersonal interactions. But he had at hand a number of sayings which helped him, like the saying: "This is the way life really is and not the way people tell". There were other unsabory experiences. Certain things, that somehow felt like injustice, like the fact that people, not as capable as Quijosancho, would get a better job than him just because they had friends in power. However, this was not so difficult to understand, since, after all, he had been taught that some people like the Pope,

and the kings in the past, had received their power by the blessing of God. He sincerely felt also, that one should never question the word of a parent. And who was he, after all, to try and question, this not so acceptable a part, of the entire way he had been taught to live? Furthermore, it was friendship that got people to places. Friendship was a good thing, so it just showed, that one should make friends with those in power. Furthermore, anyone could make good friends, if he was courteous and knew how to get along with people, and, he, like everybody else, knew how. But then friendship is often based upon and it grows, when you can keep the other persons happy. When the other person is in power, whether it would be your father, a high official in the church or in the government, or in business, you must be very careful not to displease him. Like Quijosancho used to say, "life is indeed, very complex". It felt very natural to him, in the face of this complexity, not to worry about things, when there was not much that could be done about them. Life was not only complex, but also hard, as Quijosancho learned when he started to work for his living. Later, 10 years after his marriage, with five children and a wife to support, he was sure life was not only complex and hard, but something to be endured. He, nevertheless, had learned all the tricks, he was an artist at self modification before problems, he rolled with the punches, he was able to say with ease, "Mañana", and he knew that life posed many problems that might as well be ignored.

One of the great periods in the life of Quijosancho was when he read Cervantes. He knew that he, like Don Quijote would love to accomplish great, incredible and humanitarian deeds. Quijosancho too, loved to daydream about impossible things. There were actually a great many things that he had daydreamed about, which he had never done. Don Quijote was, somehow, a caricature of himself in some respects, and Sancho Panza in others. He often felt, in his real everyday life, that he like Sancho Panza had to take a great deal of abuse. Most of the time, he could do it with good humor. Besides, as the saying went, "Every chapel will have its hayday", ("A cada capilla le llega su función"), and remembered Sancho Panza as Governor. But there was something about Don Quijote that bothered him. He did not understand his persistent self-praise. Why did he do it?, what did he gain by that? There were times it appeared as though, Don Quijote, was out to fulfill his own vanity, more than to straighten out the wrongs. Quijosancho knew, that he could enjoy certain types of power; for instance, imaginative, verbal, sexual, marital, familial and paternal power, but, however vaguely, he sensed that his search was more for love than it was for power. Furthermore, he also knew, that if there was a chance in his lifetime, in which some wonderful man would lead a struggle for some great

just or beautiful cause, he would, immediately, follow the leader to the extent of giving his life. The idea of loyalty filled his heart with joy, as much as the idea of treason was hateful.

There was one memory that Quijosancho loved to recall. When he was 20, he attended a big fiesta with one of his richer friends. At these parties, friends from all social classes and skin colors attended, the only requirement was, that they were all "gente decente": nice, polished, well brought up - courteous and friendly people. The most popular people in the group, the "simpáticos", were people that used a tremendous amount of mimic: gestures and all kinds of strange noises and sounds accompanying the description of their tales. At the very height of the fiesta, one of the not uncommon and strong earthquakes, started to rock the house. Quijosancho will never forget the sight. All of the sudden the music stopped. The musicians didn't move from their places, the people dancing stopped too. It appeared as though everything had frozen. As though all the excitement, ever in crescendo, in the face of a great threath, had collapsed into complete inertia. Soon, however, there were certain murmurs, it was the men reassuring the women that the quake would soon be over, it was the women, kneeling down where they were, and praying to God and the Virgin Mary to save them all. It was a few histerical women that prayed aloud, almost crying. But even then, the picture was one of sudden and highly contrasting quietness. How much he associated in his mind, at that time, the great inertia that he felt in his body, when he was angry at his father or his mother or somebody that he respected or loved. It was as though, in the face of great threats he, too, would rather do nothing, but nothing, but nothing at all. Let it all be in the hands of the great forces of nature and the gods.

Quijosancho had a happy disposition, but on social situations, where he dealt with his superiors and his elders, he felt shy. Often times he wondered about how intelligent he really was, he was naturally modest, and humbled himself before his superiors, his elders, his teachers and even before potential bosses and jobs. There was something in his life, that he had never really completely understood. Either he didn't dare, or he didn't care to explore or to understand it. He really never felt that he was different from the others or unique. Most problems that affected him, affected his family too. Furthermore, almost always the solution, if there was one where something had to be done, rather than simply accept the situations, seemed to come out from the family, rather than from himself alone. He, however, felt a strange and incredible self confidence when forming part of a group, particularly when these groups were very large. He enjoyed tremendously to join the crowds attending bull

fights or sport events. These were glorious moments for him. He really felt best, in the midst of great crowds. Now, when he could identify himself with a great ceremony or a large, imposing and beautiful building done by his ancestors or his people, or a great accomplishment of his countrymen or of his nation, he had a feeling of exultation, the intensity of which. he felt, nobody else on earth, could ever have.

This passive syndrome, I believe to be more representative, of the personality in the traditional cultures and "underdevelcped" nations, rather than of the modern cultures and developed or industrial nations, more representative of the personality, of most of the people in the comunist countries, than of that in the western democracies, more representative of the personality, in the lower, than in the middle and upper classes. Universally, this type of personality, should be more accentuated in the female than in the male of our species. It is felt that the developing countries will have diverse mixtures of the passive and the active syndromes.

SOME RESULTS.

The test was given to eight groups of 400 14 year old children, in 7 different nations. A principal axis pancultural factor analysis was carried out. It produced 20 factors. As you may see from the hand out entitled: "Items of the Views of Life grouped by subsyndrome and parts of subsyndrome: Appendix 1", we had 17 theoretical subsyndromes. Some of these were broken up in parts. Taking these parts as distinct categories, we had 22 subsyndromes. Dr. Donald Veldman of the U.T. staff, decided to carry on with two varimax rotations, to 17 and 22 factors. Once he had obtained this, he used his procedure, entitled, "Rotation of empirical factors tors a theoretical structure", in order to see, to what extent, the empirical results of the varimax

rotation, would correlate with the results of the rotation tors the theoretical structure, as expressed in the 17 and 22 subsyndromes. The results indicated a substantial correlation+ between the empirical factor structure and the theoretical structure. The data from the 7 nations has been scored by scale score for the 20 more reliable subsyndrome-factors. Up to the present only a few intracountry Anovas have successfully come out of the computer. The Intercountry Anova and correlations with achievement and stylistic measures is a future matter. I shall use two illustrations of the intra-country Anova for 5 nations.

Two dimensions have been selected, to give you a preliminary idea, of the kind of intra-cultural differences that may be found with the Views of Life. In Table I you will see the results obtained, in the five countries for which we have data at the present, on the factorial scale for competition vs. cooperation. We selected this scale, influenced by the good experimental studies of Millard C. Madsen. He got his inspiration, from Oscar Lewis's study in Tepoztlan, and from Romney and Romney's study in Juxtlahuaca. He found clearly

+ Mean average correlations across the seven nations and the 60 items of .60 ± .14 for the 17 subsyndrome version and of .66 ± .13 for the 22 subsyndrome version. With the elimination of two weak subsyndromes from the 22 version the mean may go above .70 .

significant class differences in Mexico, that go along with the generalized hypothesis, that the lower the class the more the cooperative attitude. The opposite was found for competitiveness, even when competitiveness minimized the individual rewards (6). On the other hand, in regards to different etnic groups, he has found that Mexican-American boys but not girls are less competitive on certain types of situations than Afro-American or Anglo-American boys or girls (7).

In Table I we have the results for competition vs. cooperation in five countries. The results by socioeconomic class go against the hypothesis in Brazil and Italy with the upper-lower being more competitive than the upper-middle, the Japanese difference with the upper-middle, more competitive than the upper-lower, is barely significant at the 5% level. There are no differences for either Austin or Yugoslavia. Regarding the sex differences only Austin and Italy go with the hypothesized higher competitiveness of the male over the female. We find that the difference by social class in Brazil, is actually produced, because the upper lower females are much more competitive than any of the other groups. Perhaps some of the most interesting findings, will be like this, which is a very subculture specific situation of Sao Paulo's upper lower girls.

The factorial scale of the positive-negative self-

concept was selected both, because of its intense psychological interest, and because when we checked the data, we found that this dimension had one of the highest numbers of statistically significant intracountry differences. In Table II, we can see that the males, fairly universally, do have a more positive self image than the females. In regards to the socioeconomic level, if anything the contrary to the generalized hypothesis is true. Once more the upper lower has a more positive self image than the upper middle class for Austin and Italy. There are no differences for Brazil, Japan or Yugoslavia.

DISCUSSION.

From the information in this paper, I suppose that we may say, (1) That we have an instrument that appears to measure pretty much the same dimensions. (2) That it shows itself as useful in the differentiation of cultural and subcultural characteristics. (3) That we feel, that this instrument, is emboding a pattern of variables that have a certain coherence or syntax.

Because of the results up to date, this writer feels, that it will be worthwhile to continue exploring further the active and the passive styles of coping, and each one of the subsyndromes. I have, of course, the feeling that our present subsyndrome factor scales can be improved,

by the refinement of the items themselves, and by increasing the number of items within each of the factors. However, the real test, as to whether they are meaningful and useful, just the way they are, for further cross cultural studies; will come, as all the members of the cross national study, assess the explanatory and/or predictive potential of these scales, through their inter-correlations with the measures of achievement, and the other tests of coping behavior in the design. In another research project, with a complex research design +, we have given the Views of Life and the scale of S.C.Ps. of the traditional family, together with a large group of measures of aptitude, achievement, personality and cognition. The intercorrelations thereof should also be helpful regarding the future of the Views of Life.

Finally, as far as the character sketch is concerned I rather listen to your comments and questions.

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TABLE I

COMPETITION-COOPERATION

Effects	Austin	Brazil	Italy	Japan	Yugoslavia
Sex	M > F	=	M > F	=	=
Socio-Economic Level	=	UL > UM	UL > UM	UM > UL	=
Interaction	=	Diff. above due to high comp. of UL females	=	=	=

M = Male
F = Female
UL = Upper Lower Class
UM = Upper Middle Class

TABLE II

POSITIVE/NEGATIVE SELF CONCEPT

Effects	Austin	Brazil	Italy	Japan	Yugoslavia
Sex	=	M > F	M > F	M > F	M > F
Socio-Economic Level	UL > UM	=	UL > UM	=	=
Interaction	=	=	=	=	=

APPENDIX 1

ITEMS OF THE VIEWS OF LIFE (FILOSOFIA DE VIDA)

GROUPED BY SUBSYNDROME AND PARTS OF SUBSYNDROME

SUBSYNDROME 1: LOCUS OF CONTROL

PART A: CAN MANKIND CONTROL THE GENERAL ENVIRONMENT (LIFE, PROBLEMS, THE WORLD). (Factor 1 in the 22 Factor Version)

Item Number in Instrument		
20	P[+] (a)	The world is the way it is and there is very little that man can do about it.
	A[++] (b)	Man can change the world to suit his own needs
42	A (a)	Mankind can control the destiny of the world.
	P (b)	Mankind cannot control the destiny of the world.

PART B: CAN THE GENERALIZED INDIVIDUAL (A PERSON - ONE CONTROL THE GENERALIZED ENVIRONMENT? (Factor 2 in the 22 Factor Version)

47	P (a)	Most of a person's problems are due to bad luck.
	A (b)	A person brings most of his problems upon himself.
12	A (a)	There are few things that cannot be done if a person tries hard enough.
	P (b)	There are many things that cannot be done no matter how hard a person tries.

PART C: DOES THE RESPONDING INDIVIDUAL PERCEIVE OF HIMSELF AS CONTROLLING HIS INDIVIDUAL ACADEMIC PROGRESS? (Factor 3 in the 22 Factor Version)

31	A (a)	When I do well on a test in school, it is usually because I studied for the test.
	P (b)	When I do well on a test in school, it is usually because the test was easy.
21	P (a)	When I can't understand something in school, it is usually because the teacher didn't explain it clearly.
	A (b)	When I can't understand something in school, it is usually because I didn't listen.
38	P (a)	When I learn something quickly in school, it is usually because it was explained well.
	A (b)	When I learn something quickly in school, it is usually because I paid close attention.

[+] P = Passive Reply
[++] A = Active Reply

3	A (a)	If a teacher tells me to try to do better in my school-work, it is usually because my work isn't very good.
	P (b)	If a teacher tells me to try to do better in my school-work, it is usually because she wants all her students to try harder.

- -

SUBSYNDROME 2: ACTION

PART A: ACTION vs. INACTION (Factor 4 in the 22 Factor Version)

Item Number in Instrument		
7	P (a)	When a person is uncertain, it is usually best to wait and see what happens.
	A (b)	When a person is uncertain, it is usually best to take some kind of action.
1	A (a)	When something is going wrong, it is usually best to take some kind of action.
	P (b)	When something is going wrong, it is usually best to wait and see what happens.

PART B: IMMEDIATE vs. DELAYED ACTION (Factor 5 in the 22 Factor Version)

6	A (a)	Quick action is usually best in most situations.
	P (b)	Quick action is usually careless action.
4	P (a)	It is better to wait before acting.
	A (b)	Tomorrow is usually too late.

PART C: RATE OF ACTION (Factor 6 in the 22 Factor Version)

48	A (a)	In the long run, a person who works fast gets more done.
	P (b)	In the long run, a person who works slowly gets more done.
45	P (a)	I like to take my time doing things.
	A (b)	I like to do things as fast as I can.
9	P (a)	It is better to be slow than to be fast.
	A (b)	It is better to be fast than to be slow.

- -

SUBSYNDROME 3: INTRINSIC vs. EXTRINSIC VALUE OF WORK
(Factor 7 in the 22 Factor Version)

Item Number in Instrument		
53	A (a)	Work is to be enjoyed.
	P (b)	Work is to be endured.
32	P (a)	Work is something that must be done.
	A (b)	Work is its own reward.

- -

SUBSYNDROME 4: TASK ACHIEVEMENT vs. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS
(Factor 8 in the 22 Factor Version)

58	P (a)	My friends bring me the most happiness.
	A (b)	Doing something well brings me the most happiness.
17	A (a)	Work first, friendship second.
	P (b)	Friendship first, work second.
34	A (a)	I would rather have a job where the work is interesting.
	P (b)	I would rather have a job where the people are friendly.
41	A (a)	I have more difficulties with my friends.
	P (b)	I have more difficulties with my work.
56	P (a)	I would rather have a small job making a comfortable living and have a lot of time with my friends.
	A (b)	I would rather have a more important job making a lot of money, even if I did not have enough time for my friends.
11	P (a)	The most important part of a job would be getting along with fellow workers.
	A (b)	The most important part of a job would be getting things done.

- -

SUBSYNDROME 5: COMPETITION vs. COOPERATION
(Factor 9 in the 22 Factor Version)

43	P (a)	Difficult problems are solved best by cooperation.
	A (b)	Difficult problems are solved best by competition.

Item Number in Instrument		
54	A (a)	Competition is better than cooperation to get things done.
	P (b)	Cooperation is better than competition to get things done.

- -

SUBSYNDROME 6: INDEPENDENCE vs. INTERDEPENDENCE

PART A: AUTHORITY (Factor 10 in the 22 Factor Version)

22	A (a)	When a person thinks his (or her) father's orders are unreasonable, he should feel free to question them.
	P (b)	A father's orders should always be obeyed.
57	P (a)	A person should not question his (or her) mother's word.
	A (b)	Any mother can make mistakes and one should feel free to question her word when it seems wrong.
40	P (a)	A teacher's orders should always be obeyed.
	A (b)	When one thinks his teacher's orders are unreasonable he should feel free to question them.
36	P (a)	It is better to know how to obey than to know how to command.
	A (b)	It is better to know how to command than to know how to obey.

PART B: INDEPENDENCE WITH RESPECT TO PEOPLE IN GENERAL (Factor 11 in the 22 Factor Version)

50	P (a)	One should not express disagreement with others if it will cause hard feelings.
	A (b)	One should always state his own views even if it might cause hard feelings.
5	A (a)	I don't need the approval of other people.
	P (b)	I need the approval of other people.
16	P (a)	One should usually go along with the opinion of the majority.
	A (b)	One should usually act according to his own opinion.

Item Number in Instrument		
27	A (a)	It is best to work out one's problems without seeking help from others.
	P (b)	It is best to seek help from others in working out one's problems.

SUBSYNDROME 7: EARNED vs. BESTOWED STATUS
(Factor 12 in the 22 Factor Version)

46	P (a)	In spite of what people say, the best way to get ahead is to build relationships with the right people.
	A (b)	In spite of what people say, the best way to get ahead is to do a good job.
13	P (a)	The most important thing in school is the grades a person makes.
	A (b)	The most important thing in school is how hard a person works, no matter what his grades are.
49	P (a)	A person should be respected because of the title he holds.
	A (b)	A person should be respected for what he has done.

SUBSYNDROME 8: CONFRONTATION vs. AVOIDANCE
(Factor 13 in the 22 Factor Version)

2	A (a)	When there is a problem one should always try to face it.
	P (b)	There are some problems that are best ignore
51	P (a)	A person should not worry about things he can do nothing about.
	A (b)	It is often interesting to think about problems, even if nothing can be done.

SUBSYNDROME 9: SELF vs. OTHER INITIATION
(Factor 14 in the 22 Factor Version)

52	A (a)	When I am with friends, I like to be the first to suggest what we do.
	P (b)	When I am with friends, I like to let them suggest what we do.

Item Number in Instrument		
55	A (a)	I usually begin doing things I should do without being told.
	P (b)	I usually wait until I am told before I do something I should do.

SUBSYNDROME 10: SELF vs. OTHER SOLVER
(Factor 15 in the 22 Factor Version)

60	A (a)	I prefer to use my own ideas rather than those of others.
	P (b)	I prefer to use other people's ideas.
10	P (a)	A really intelligent person knows when to listen to the advice of others.
	A (b)	A really intelligent person knows how to decide things for himself.

SUBSYNDROME 11: SELF vs. JOINT IMPLEMENTATION
(Was other Implementation) (Factor 16 in the 22 Factor Version)

37	P (a)	Things are done best with people working together.
	A (b)	If a person wants things done right he has to do them by himself.
8	A (a)	I like to work by myself.
	P (b)	I like to work with other people.

SUBSYNDROME 12: CAUTIOUS vs. BOLD
(Factor 17 in the 22 Factor Version)

18	P (a)	I am usually cautious.
	A (b)	I am usually bold.
15	P (a)	It is better to be cautious.
	A (b)	It is better to be bold.

SUBSYNDROME 13: INSTRUMENTALITY vs. FANTASY
(Factor 18 in the 22 Factor Version)

30	P (a)	I daydream about many things I never do.
	A (b)	I usually do the things I want rather than daydream about them.

Item Number in Instrument		
25	A (a)	I usually daydream about doing things I can really do if I want to.
	P (b)	I usually daydream about doing impossible things.

- -

SUBSYNDROME 14: EMOTIONAL CONTROL vs. EMOTIONAL UNCONTROL
(Factor 19 in the 22 Factor Version)

26	P (a)	A person is usually happier if he learns how to accept his feelings.
	A (b)	A person is usually happier if he learns how to control his feelings.
35	P (a)	A person should be expressive.
	A (b)	A person should be calm and controlled.

(I am very unhappy with this subsyndrome, it should have been two syndromes, one of expressiveness vs. poker face and a different one on control of emotions and not of feelings. R.D.G.)

- -

SUBSYNDROME 15: EXAGGERATION OF ACTIVITY AND PASSIVITY UNDER STRESS
(Factor 20 in the 22 Factor Version)

39	P (a)	When I am frightened, I feel better if I don't do anything.
	A (b)	When I am frightened, I feel better if I do something active.
24	A (a)	When I am nervous, I feel better if I move around.
	P (b)	When I am nervous, I feel better if I stay still.
44	P (a)	If I am very angry it is better if I shut up.
	A (b)	If I am very angry it is better if I yell.
19	A (a)	If something disgusts me, I protest.
	P (b)	If something disgusts me, I ignore it.

- -

SUBSYNDROME 16: POSITIVE vs. NEGATIVE SELF CONCEPT
(Factor 21 in the 22 Factor Version)

28	A (a)	I believe I am very intelligent.
	P (b)	I believe I am of average intelligence.
33	A (a)	I am self confident.
	P (b)	I am not self confident.

Item Number in Instrument		
23	P (a)	I don't have enough self confidence.
	A (b)	I have enough self confidence.

SUBSYNDROME 17: VIEW OF LIFE
(Factor 22 in the 22 Factor Version)

59	A (a)	Life is to be enjoyed.
	P (b)	Life is to be endured.
14	A (a)	Life is easy.
	P (b)	Life is hard.
29	A (a)	Life is simple.
	P (b)	Life is complex.

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Robert J. Havighurst
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August, 1971

SOCIAL CLASS FACTORS IN COPING STYLE AND COMPETENCE

In the international comparative study of coping behavior, one of the principal purposes is to find out to what extent the observed and measured differences in coping behavior are related to nationality differences, as compared with three other kinds of sub-group differences: age, sex, and social class. All four of these groups represent sets of socializing influences that operate on children and youth. Each type of group is a sub-culture, and teaches its members its particular ways of behaving and believing.

The sample of 6,400 children in this study consists of equal numbers (800) from each of eight metropolitan areas in 7 countries: equal numbers of males and females (400) in each geographical area; equal numbers of 10 and 14-year olds (400) in each area; and equal numbers of youth from upper-middle class and upper-working class families (400).

The technical question this paper will answer is: how is the variance of the scores for the several instruments distributed between nationality groups, sex groups, age groups, social class groups, and individuals? This question may be answered with various degrees of statistical sophistication. The answers given in this paper are based on rather simple comparisons of the differences between mean scores for the various groups. For instance, do the mean scores of male and female groups differ more or less than the mean scores of the same children when they are sorted into social class groups?

We do not expect that one kind of cultural classification will differentiate far better than the others. There almost certainly are some kinds of behavior on which sex differences are greater than social class or nationality differences, and there are other kinds of behavior on which other cultural factors are likely to be especially influential.

This paper will focus especially on the factor of socioeconomic status, with comparisons of two distinct social class groups: upper-middle and upper-working class. The samples were fairly representative of the two social classes, as far as we could tell from general observation of the situation at each research site.

In age the samples were quite similar at the several sites. In sex of course the samples were identical. In social class there was more room for question, since the researchers had to find schools that were heavily loaded with one or the other class group, and this required a selection of a limited number of schools out of a much larger pool of schools. Private schools were not involved in some of the upper-middle class samples, but they were in others. More of a problem was raised by the fact that school attendance is not obligatory at the age of 14 everywhere, and not in Brazil. Some 60 percent of São Paulo 14-year-olds are in school, and most of those not in school are members of working-class families. Thus it is likely that the São Paulo sample of upper-working class youth are biased toward academic competence, since these are the ones most likely to continue in school.

The SES of a pupil in the study was measured by the occupational level and the educational level of his father. The occupational level was measured on a six-point scale of occupational prestige, worked out on the basis of several cross-national studies of occupational status. The father's education was rated on a scale from 1 - 6, this scale being devised separately for each country because the level of adults' education varies among countries. In a country with 2 percent of the adults having graduated from college, the completion of secondary school will be rated higher than in the USA, where 15 percent of adults are college graduates, and 60 percent are high school graduates. The two scores for each father were combined into a single score, giving the educational rating a weight of 2 and the occupational rating a weight of 3. Then the range of the resultant 30-point scale that applies to upper-middle class and the range for upper-working class were determined by the methods used by Havighurst and his co-workers in several community studies.

RESULTS

The results will be presented in three broad sections. The first section will deal with date from instruments which could be scored in identical fashion for every respondent in the study. Thus comparisons could be made of the four basic sub-cultural dimensions. The second section will present data from instruments which had to be scored separately for each research site or each age-group. These data report academic aptitude and achievement and ratings of children by their class-mates. It would have been extremely difficult to get strictly comparable tests of aptitude and academic achievement that would be equally "fair"

to all the research groups and would not introduce invidious distinctions. And the sociometric procedure used in obtaining peer ratings would have been very difficult to replicate exactly enough in every classroom to permit comparison of the several research sites. Thus the second section will only allow comparison of social class groups and of sex groups. This section will treat each site and each age-group on a site as the universe of the study.

The third section of data will deal with behavior that is evaluated separately by the research team in each of the participating countries. For example, the score on coping effectiveness obtained from a Story Completion Instrument is based on the definition of effective coping provided by the research team of a given country. And a particular story completion might be scored differently by the Mexican team, for example, than by the English team. These data can be compared for age, sex, and social class within a country. However, some of the data from the Story Completion Instrument and the Sentence Completion Test can be scored across country samples with a single objective scoring procedure. These data can provide evidence of cross-national differences.

The writer made a somewhat similar comparison of age, sex, social class and nationality differences in a comparative study of Buenos Aires and Chicago children and adolescents,* finding that the observed differences on various social-psychological instruments tended to be larger between the two nationalities than between age, sex, or social class groups. However, this new study provides a wider range of data and a greater variety of nationality groups.

*Robert J. Havighurst, Maria Eugenia Dubois, M. Czikszentmihalyi, and R. Doll, A Cross National Study of Buenos Aires and Chicago Adolescents. Chapter 7. S. Karger, Basel, Switzerland and Albert Phiebig, White Plains, New York. 1964.

Academic Aptitude and Achievement

The measures of academic aptitude and achievement did not permit comparison across countries, and age comparisons would have been pointless. Consequently every instrument was standardized for the research site and the age group, leaving only the variance between the sexes and the social classes, plus the variance among individuals. The data are summarized in Table 1.

The most striking finding is that the social class differences are very large, while the sex differences are relatively small and variable in direction. On the test of general intelligence (Raven's Matrices) and on tests of mathematics and reading, the middle-class groups are a half a standard deviation above the working-class groups. The grades given by the teachers show a similar difference.

Social class differences are greatest in Mexico City, followed by Tokyo, Austin (Texas) and Chicago. They are relatively less (though still highly significant) in Milan, Ljubljana (Yugoslavia) and São Paulo. These three cities are quite different in socio-political policy. The socialist city (Ljubljana) might be expected to show less social class difference than the others. The case of São Paulo is a special one, due to the fact that school attendance was not compulsory at age 14, and the working-class school population is probably selected for greater academic achievement.

Sex differences are interesting to American observers, who are accustomed to the idea that girls are superior to boys in academic achievement at the age levels of this study. Yet it turned out that boys exceeded girls in Mexico City, São Paulo, and Chicago, and in Reading, also, in Ljubljana. London showed the greatest female superiority, together with Milan.

There were no significant mathematics differences between the sexes.

Peer Ratings. A sociometric instrument was used to find out where each pupil stood, in the estimation of his class-mates in relation to the following descriptive statements:

Who work hardest at their lessons?

Who work hardest at outside activities?

Who get along best with teachers and other grown-ups?

The scores are based on each classroom as a unit, so that, in general, a pupil is being judged by others who are roughly of his own social status and sex. However, there was some variation among countries in this respect, since the degree of socioeconomic segregation by school and classroom varied. Also, in some cases the class consisted of one sex only, and thus there were no cross-sex judgments.

The middle-class pupils generally were rated more favorably by their peers than the working-class pupils, with the sharpest differences in Ljubljana, Tokyo, and Milan. The least difference appeared in São Paulo (as expected) and in Mexico City. These were not statistically significant. With respect to sex differences, girls were rated higher than boys everywhere except in Mexico City. The greatest sex differences were found in Austin(Texas) and in Chicago.

Career Aspirations and Expectations

Each respondent was asked what kind of work he would like to do when he grew up. Then he was asked what kind of job he probably would have when he grew up. Both responses were rated on a six-point scale of occupational prestige. The

discrepancy between occupational aspiration and expectation could therefore be measured by subtracting the expectation level from the aspiration level. Finally, the discrepancy was determined between the respondent's aspiration level and the level of the father's job.

Table 2 reports the differences between the mean scores for age-groups, sex-groups, social class groups, and countries. It is seen that the differences between the two social class groups are greater than the differences between age-groups and sex-groups. Furthermore, the social class difference is considerably greater than the average difference between pairs of countries. The only datum in this Table that was clearly to be expected is the large difference between social classes in discrepancy between the student's occupational aspiration and the father's occupational level. Clearly, this discrepancy is about zero for upper-middle class youth, but is large for working-class youth, since a number of the latter aspire to middle-class occupations.

Occupational Values

The boys and girls in the Study were asked to indicate their preferences among 15 phrases describing work situations and representing 15 different career values. For example, the statement, "work in which you can help other people" represents the career value of (1) Altruism. Similar phrases represent the career values of (2) Esthetics, (3) Independence, (4) Management, (5) Success and Accomplishment, (6) Self-Satisfaction, (7) Intellectual Stimulation, (8) Creativity, (9) Security, (10) Prestige, (11) Economic Returns, (12) Surroundings, (13) Associates, (14) Variety, and (15) Father's Occupation. Equivalence in the different translations of these phrases required by the Study was achieved by following the translation from English to the second language with an independent back-translation from the second language to English.

In the instrument each of the fifteen career value phrases is paired with each of the other phrases, producing a total of 105 forced choice items. In addition, in order to provide an internal consistency check, five of the 105 items are reversed and repeated, raising the total number of items to 110. Each subject is asked to select the phrase from each pair representing the work which he would most prefer. He then receives a score of 0 - 14 for each of the 15 career values on the basis of the number of times he chooses a particular phrase from among the items.

Table 3 compares the various sub-groups on their scores on 14 career roles. The fifteenth (preference for father's occupation) is omitted because it is so obviously weighted in favor of 10-year-old boys. With this instrument, the differences were greater for sex and for age than for social class. This is a significant finding. The significance of various aspects of work to ten-year-olds is probably relatively under-developed, and perhaps is only beginning to take shape by the age of 14, so that the 14-year-olds may differ substantially from the 10-year-olds on the values of Independence, Accomplishment, Prestige, and Associates because they are becoming more aware of the realities of the work situation. Large sex differences in Altruism, Esthetics, Creativity, and Economic Returns are about what would be expected from our general knowledge of differential interests according to sex. It is interesting that so few substantial social class differences appear. The largest is that of Security; and Economic Returns and Altruism show relatively large differences--all in the "expected" directions.

Comparing the mean differences between pairs of countries is tedious, and we have shown the comparative data in Table 3 for only four of the occupational values. These four show inter-country differences to be greater than inter-class differences, on the average.

The Coping Preference Inventory

The boys and girls in the Study were asked to respond to a number of statements describing various kinds of coping behavior, with the statement "This is like me." or "I want to be like this." The items were such as:

John always gets his school work done before he goes out to play.

Susan is very cautious about making new friends.

Each respondent received a score for each of the four possible modes of behavior, as indicated in Table 4. In general, it appears that differences between countries are slightly greater than the differences between other cultural factors.

Sentence Completion Test

A Sentence Completion Test was used to give a variety of scores indicating reactions to different kinds of coping situations. Among the many scores were three global scores that referred to the respondent's Stance in coping situations, his Attitude toward various people and problem situations, and the extent of his Engagement, or overt action directed toward the solution of the problem. Table 5 gives the results. Differences between countries are the greatest, followed by differences between age-groups. The social class differences are the smallest, on the Sentence Completion Test.

Story Completion

Pupils were asked to write completions to 8 story-beginnings, which set the stage for coping behavior in situations involving: Aggression, Authority, Anxiety, Interpersonal Relations, and Academic Tasks. Among the many scores were global scores on two of the Sentence Completion dimensions, and on Initiative, Implementations, and Persistence. These were all scored by the same criteria across all countries. Additionally, the research Team in each country scored the stories for General Coping Effectiveness, using the criteria of its own national culture. Only three of the countries are represented in Table 6. Social class does not stand out as a differentiating factor in this Table. Age is more of a factor, as it was in the Sentence Completion Test. It may be noted that the results for Stance and for Engagement on the two instruments are similar, with respect to age, sex, and social class groups.

Summary

A wide variety of kinds of coping behavior and attitude have been measured, and it is clear that social class is the major differentiating factor in about half of them. Nationality is the major differentiating factor in the other half of thes dimensions. Age differences (between 10 and 14-year-olds) and sex differences do not differentiate these young people as much as the broader cultural differences of social class and nationality.

Table 1

COMPARISON OF SEX AND SOCIAL CLASS DIFFERENCES ON ACADEMIC APTITUDE AND ACHIEVEMENT

	Mean Difference in Score Between Groups on Variable:						
	Aptitude	Achievement			Ratings by Peers #		
	Raven *	Math *	Reading *	Grade Point Average	Academic Work	Non-Academic Work	Relati with Teache
Sex							
F-M	1.2	N.S.	1.6	1.8	.11	.03	.13
SES							
Middle-Working Class	5.5	5.4	6.1	4.7	.12	.08	.08

* Scores marked with asterisk are standard scores; S.D. equals 10 points.

\# Range of scores from 0 to 2.0. A difference between means of .03 is statistically reliable.

Table 2

COMPARISON OF AGE, SEX, SOCIAL CLASS, AND NATIONALITY DIFFERENCES IN CAREER ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

	Mean Difference in Score Between Groups on Variable:			
Group	Occupational Aspiration	Occupational Expectation	Discrepancy: Aspiration minus Expectation	Discrepancy: Aspiration minus Fa's Occ. Level
Age				
14-10	.25	.20	.07	.21
Sex				
Male-Female	.50	.42	.09	.49
SES				
Middle-Working Class	.60	.65	.12	1.75
Country *	.30	.29	.10	.29

* The difference between countries is the mean of differences between all the pairs of countries in the Study (28 pairs).

R. J. Havighurst
August, 1971

Table 3

COMPARISON OF AGE, SEX, SOCIAL CLASS AND NATIONALITY GROUPS ON OCCUPATIONAL VALUES

Comparison of Sub-group Scores on 14 Career Values. Mean Differences

Career Value	Age	Sex	SES	Mean Difference Between Pairs of Countries
	14-10	M-F	Middle-Working Class	
Altruism	.13	1.14	.56	.82
Esthetics	.51	1.53	.36	
Independence	1.25	.09	.43	.97
Management	.22	.29	.51	
Success & Accomplishment	.82	.36	.17	
Self-Satisfaction	.62	.56	.30	.55
Intellectual Stimulation	.17	.59	.27	
Creativity	.60	1.42	.02	
Security	.53	.12	.84	
Prestige	.77	.54	.17	
Economic Returns	.02	.68	.53	.68
Surroundings	.13	.27	.31	
Associates	.89	.76	.09	
Variety	.13	.55	.31	
Mean of Means	.48	.64	.35	

Note: Differences are not necessarily in the direction indicated at the head of a column. Signs are ignored.

R. J. Havighurst
August, 1971

Table 4

COMPARISON OF AGE, SEX, SOCIAL CLASS AND NATIONALITY DIFFERENCES ON COPING PREFERENCE INVENTORY

	Mean Difference in Score Between Groups on Preference for:			
Group	Active Coping	Passive Coping	Active Defence	Passive Defence
Age 14-10	.37	.44	.24	.25
Sex M-F	.32	.16	.52	.52
SES Middle-Working Class	.42	.24	.24	.48
Country	.50	.74	.35	.49

Table 5

COMPARISON OF AGE, SEX, SOCIAL CLASS, AND COUNTRY DIFFERENCES ON SENTENCE COMPLETION TEST

	Mean Difference in Score Between Groups on Sentence Completion Variable:		
Group	Attitude	Stance	Engagement
Age	1.33	.93	.50
Sex	.77	.50	.29
SES	.34	.48	.33
Country	2.22	1.22	.78

R. J. Havighurst
August, 1971

Table 6

COMPARISON OF AGE, SEX, SOCIAL CLASS, AND NATIONALITY DIFFERENCES ON STORY COMPLETION INSTRUMENT

Group	Mean Difference in Score Between Groups* on Story Completion Variable							
	Stance	Engagement	Initiation	Implementation	Persistence	General Coping*		
						A	B	C
Age 14-16	.13	.78	.84	.79	.48	1.18	5.27	9.60
Sex M-F	.22	.70	.49	.35	.24	2.83	2.51	2.63
SES Middle-Working Class	.13	.42	.43	.58	.32	2.84	3.38	2.51
Country*	.07	1.00	.85	.71	.14			

* Only 3 countries are represented in this table: England, Mexico, and Italy. Their data are combined, except for the General Coping Score, which was worked out separately by each country team, and is not intended to have universal validity.

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August, 1971